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LETTER II.

TO MR. CANNING,

On his Speeches recently delivered at Liverpool; on the necessity of conciliating the Reformers; and on the recent events in Scotland, France, and Spain.

London, 10 April, 1820.

SIR,

So rapidly do events succeed each other; so decided is the character of those events; that, I cannot get through a commentary on your Speech, without being interrupted by the noise of occurrences, which make a change, a great change, in the actual situation of some nations, and in the prospects of other nations. While you were speaking: even at the very moment when you were declaring that there should be no reform in England, the *Reformers of Spain* were changing the system of government in that country; nay, they were actually putting the finishing stroke to that change. And, at the moment when I was answering you, and was endeavour-

ing to shew, that the putting down of *public meetings*, and that the *binding and banishing* acts, had not produced that perfect content, which you boasted that they had produced; at that very moment (as it now appears) expresses were coming up to inform the government, that there was what the *COURIER* calls "*a rebellion*" in Scotland!

Will you still hold out? Will you still insist, that measures of *defiance of scorn*, and of *chastisement*, are the only measures to pursue? Will you still refuse to listen to those who recommend *conciliation*? But I will put these questions to you again, when I have adverted to matters, which were passed over in my last letter.

When we are speaking of the System, which you are making such strenuous efforts to defend, we must always take into view the *late wars*, the origin of them, and the consequences they have produced. Because, if we take it for granted, that those wars were *just and necessary*, we have really nothing to find fault with;

for all the evils that we now experience are the natural consequences of the measures; without the adoption of which those wars could not have been carried on. It was impossible to carry on the wars without creating the Debt; and it is the Debt, which now causes the ruin and the misery, and the *whole* of the ruin and the misery too; because, if there were no Debt, no standing army at home would be wanted, and the Army and the Debt constitute almost all the expence. The army is necessary to insure the collection of the money to pay the interest of the Debt; and thus, the Debt constitutes the whole of the evil.

Therefore, the "glorious wars" have produced a miserable peace: temporary triumph has produced permanent dejection and humiliation. Hence, we are naturally induced to *look back* to the origin of the late wars. That they were undertaken and renewed and pursued for the purpose of preventing a reform of the parliament you now plainly acknowledge; for you say, that we were, during the wars, contending against

the "*same spirit*" abroad, which we have now to contend against at home. You say, that this spirit is now come to elbow us at our *fire-sides*; and, that you would rather, for your part, again cross the sea, and combat this spirit "on the plains of the *peninsula*", or on the "field of Waterloo." Strange idea! Talk of the "wild and visionary projects" of the Reformers, indeed! Have any of them ever uttered any thing a thousandth part so wild as this?

However, reform was prevented for the time. But, then, *the Debt was contracted*; and this Debt has now to be paid. You might be asked, in passing, whether "*this same spirit*" was at work in *America*, and whether the seventy millions, which we have yet to pay for the war against *that* country, were necessary to be expended, in order to prevent *irreligion* from finding its way from *that* country to England? But let this go. The plain state of the case is this: we have *forty millions a year to pay FOR EVER*, mind, on account of wars, carried on, according to your own confession, for the purpose of keeping

down "*that same spirit*," which is now, as you say, *more active and dangerous than ever*. And you, even to this day, applaud the conduct of Pitt, in beginning and carrying on these wars.

Are you aware, that reform, or any thing else that the mind of man can imagine, could do a *greater* harm to a country, than a mortgage on the land and labour to the amount of a great deal more than the worth of the land in fee? If the reformers had actually made a republic, even like that of America, would they have done *greater* harm to the country than to load it with such a mortgage? They never designed any such thing, and they do not now; but, could even the execution of such a design have done the country greater harm? But, even if this enormous evil had been attended with the desired effect, there would have been something to say in defence of the wars. If you were now to say: "we are *ruined*: the country is bankrupt: it can never make another effort: but, we have secured for ever our political and religious institu-

tions." If you were now to say this; then, indeed, you might consistently praise Pitt and the wars. But, in the same breath, that you bestow this praise, you acknowledge, that the wars, which have caused the mortgage, have been *wholly unavailing*; for you say, that "*the same spirit*" is, at this moment, more vigorous and dangerous than ever, and that you have now to combat it on our own shores.

Let us do justice here to the memory of Mr. Fox, who, at the outset of the war against France, warned Pitt and the nation of the consequences. He said (as you now confess), that it was a war *against principles*. That it would not succeed in rooting out the principles; and, that it would leave behind it a load of Debt and Taxes, under which the nation *must sink*, unless it relieved itself by means that would *bring all the dreaded principles into fearful activity*.

Now, is not this precisely the case? Is not this prediction fulfilled to the very letter? If Mr. Fox had not, by yielding to his hungry partizans, coalesced, at last, with the Pitt-

System, how great a man he would have died ! The war, as you now confess, was a war against principles ; you say the principles are still in fearful activity ; and you know, that the war has left a load of Debt and Taxes, which every one says must sink the nation into nothingness, except it be gotten *rid off* ; and yet, as you also well know, that no man ventures to propose any effectual way of getting rid of it. This is all undeniable ; and yet you still insist on the *justice* and *necessity* of the wars, and applaud the main author and prosecutor of them.

At the beginning of these wars, and during their persecution, there were thousands to pledge themselves to spend *their last shilling* and to *die in the last ditch*. These gentlemen, or, at least, those of them, who may be still alive, ought now to come forward and offer up their all. Before a general *valuation of lands* take place, they ought, it seems to me, to redeem their vaunting pledge. But, let us look a little at the folly and insincerity of this pledge. The French nation

had risen on the noblesse and the clergy ; had put them down ; had abolished the institutions ; had even put their king to death ; had formed a republican government. One half of this, indeed, they had not done, when we assumed a hostile attitude against them. But, suppose it *all done*. What was it to the English nation ? It disturbed us not. It took nothing from us. It attacked us in no way whatever. The danger was, therefore, *feigned*, and especially the *danger to religion*.

The pretext about *religion* was, perhaps, the most ridiculous, as well as base, that ever was put forward in the world. We can never too often remind the world of its baseness ; because, not only is the same pretext now in *high vogue* ; but, we are now tasting the bitter fruits of the war, which was carried on under that pretext. Plainly, then, how stood the case ? The French had just got rid of a king, whom we had always been taught to regard as the worst of *despots*, and of a clergy, whom we had always been taught to regard as the supporters and agents of *Anti-*

Christ. Ought this to have been a subject of anger with us against the French? Ought this to have *alarmed* us on the score of *religion*? Now, speak frankly, ought we to have been *alarmed* for our *religion*, because *Anti-Christ* had received a blow? I should like to have you answer to this question. The French might, perhaps, have then become Deists, or even Atheists; but, could they be *worse* than the followers of *Anti-Christ*? And, if they were not, before the revolution, followers of *Anti-Christ* and the "Whore of Babylon," that "Scarlet Whore, drunk with the blood of the Saints;" if they were not this, *before their revolution*, our teachers had, for ages, been the most gross, impudent, and base deceivers. Let those, who were alarmed for our religion, take their choice. No longer back than the year 1745, when the PRETENDER, with the aid of the French Despot, was endeavouring to place himself on the English throne, we were told, that, if we suffered him to succeed a *government* and a *religion* like those of France

would be established; and, that we should be *slaves* and *idolaters*. How different the tone in 1793! Then, we were to fight for our *liberty* and *religion*; both these were in danger, because the government and religion of France had been overthrown. And, those, who pushed the nation on to the war, pledged their *last shilling*, and said they would die in the *last ditch*, in a war against those, whom they called by all sorts of vile names for having put down that very government and religion, which, in 1745, we had been told to fight against as if fighting for the salvation of our very souls!

The pretence about *religion* was, therefore, the most hypocritical that ever was put forward. The real object of the war was kept carefully out of sight. *Religion* was made the stalking horse. And this is the way, in which, age after age, by government after government, mankind have been deceived, and nation set against nation, and one part of a nation against another. Curious, indeed, is it, that, after twenty five years of war against irreligion, and,

after that war has terminated in a way that has not only been called *successful* but *glorious* beyond all example; curious, that, after all this, it should be now alleged, that, in spite of all warnings, all experience, *infidelity* and *blasphemy* should now be *more common than ever!*

Ah! Sir, this *religion*, as the word is now but too frequently applied, is a very odd sort of thing. It is generally coupled with *loyalty*. At Coventry, my opponents took "*loyalty and religion*" to themselves, and allotted to me "*sedition and blasphemy*." And it was curious enough to behold on their side a numerous band of wretches, whose mouths foamed with uttering curses and execrations, who were raving mad with drink, and who attacked and broke into houses, and stabbed and otherwise assaulted scores of defenceless persons; while, on my side, and amongst my adherents, all was sobriety, inoffensiveness and peace. Almost the whole of those who voted against me, came swearing and drunk to the poll; while, amongst the whole

of those who voted for me, I saw but one single man that was intoxicated, and I expressed my wish, that he might not be permitted to vote. Such, then, at Coventry, at least, were the evidences of the effect of what are called "*loyalty and religion*." And, indeed, it is notorious, that the "*Church and King mobs*" have invariably consisted of the most profligate and abandoned part of the community. Profligacy is always to be hated, but it is most worthy of hatred, when it is carried on under a pretended regard for religion; and yet, we do see the most *notorious profligates*; those whom all the world knows to be the worst, the most base, cruel and cowardly of husbands; the most abandoned drunkards and gamblers; the most faithless as well as the most beastly of men; we do see, that, when these men happen to be possessed of the power of conferring great favours, there are thousands upon thousands to cry them up as *patterns for the imitation of mankind!* Can any degree of *infidelity*; can any contempt of religious ceremonies and

creeds; can any thing that is called *blasphemy*, be a thousandth part so *criminal*, or so mischievous to morals, as the hypocrisy of these abominable parasites? To praise a profligate man in power; to extol his virtues, when nothing but his vices stare you in the face; to hold him up as an object of love and admiration, while his life and conversation exhibit an unbroken series of meanesses, fooleries, cruelties, acts of beastliness and, indeed, of downright roguery: to bestow praise on such a man, to extol such a man as virtuous, is a crime far greater than theft or robbery, and deserves a far heavier punishment. And yet those, who are the greatest persecutors on the score of religion, those who make the greatest noise about what they call blasphemous publications, are the very persons, who are most adicted to this odious and detestable crime. My long observation of this fact has made me shun a *canter* as I would shun a rattle-snake. The moment I hear a man crying out against, or even expressing his disapprobation of, what are

are called blasphemous publications, I begin to hate him if he have talent, and to despise him if he have none.

However, though this *cant*, this *stalking-horse*, may have been, and certainly has been, very powerful in the upholding of misrule in former times, and even until within these twenty or thirty years, it has *now* lost the greater part of its power. The effectual blows, which have been given to it within that time, have changed the face of affairs; and the unnatural efforts, which have been made, and which are now making, to restore its influence, have only tended to hasten its total inefficiency. These efforts have been so numerous, so various in their nature, of a character so low and despicable, that *ridicule*, instead of *awe*, has been excited by them. When we hear the same persons, who are everlastingly stunning us with their out-cries against "*blasphemous publications*;" when we hear the same persons, in the very next column, *praising notorious profligates*; and when, in a third column, we hear them express their morti-

fication at the fall of the Inquisition: when we hear this, we are in no danger of being deceived by their *cant*.

If I were in a suitable situation, I would *force* from you a *full* and *plain* declaration on the *score of religion*. I would make you say what it is *you really mean* by it. I would put you to the *test*. You should not shelter yourself behind loose and general terms. You should tell me what it is you mean by the word *religion*; and, whether you do, or do not, think, that those, who now are teachers of the Gospel, ought to obey the *commands* of Jesus Christ and ought to follow the *example* of *his Apostles*. I am not in a situation to *force* this declaration from you. I may be, perhaps, one of these days; and, in the mean while, I will put a few questions to you, to which, if you wish to be looked upon as a fair antagonist, you will give an explicit answer, in the next edition of the pamphlet, containing your Liverpool Manifesto.

1. You have taken the *test* as a Church-of-England man; of course, you regard a belief

in the Trinity as *absolutely necessary to salvation*. You know, however, that a law has lately been passed to allow men to preach the contrary of this; to allow them openly to preach against the doctrine of the Trinity; openly to deny its truth; openly to deny the Divinity of Jesus Christ. You know, that they do thus preach; and, what I wish to ask you, is, whether you do, or do not, regard such teaching and such denial and disbelief as *blasphemy*?

2. By *religion* do you mean a mere outward obedience to certain rules and regulations of an ecclesiastical nature? Do you mean a something of a political kind? Do you mean a sort of inward light? Or, do you mean the practice of virtue? Do you mean an influence, which prevents men from committing extortionate, cruel, and tyrannical acts; that will not suffer them to oppress the poor, to persecute the feeble, to imprison or kill men on false charges, or under false pretences? An influence, that will not suffer men to be pa-

risites of the profligate, the drunkard, the glutton, the debauchee; and that forbids the indulgence of luxury, while millions are starving around?

3. You, who talk so much about *religion*, must *know* something of its *origin*. You must know, that Christ strictly enjoined on his apostles to go forth, teaching all nations, and to take with them neither *staff* nor *scrip*. You must know, that he told them "*freely to give, as they had freely received.*" You must know, that he told them, that their kingdom was not of *this world*. You must know, that St. PAUL told the Preachers to *work* with their own hands. You must know, that, of all the qualities insisted on in a teacher of the word, the quality most strongly insisted on was *humility*, both in *conversation* and in *manner of living*. Let me ask you, then, do you think, that, in order to propagate and uphold this religion, it is necessary, that its teachers should be *extremely opulent*; and that some of

them should receive from *twenty to thirty thousand pounds a-year each*? That they should have *palaces* to reside in, and should have *splendid equipages* and *numerous retinues of servants*?

If this be your opinion, pray, in your next edition, give us the *reasons*, on which your opinion is founded. We, or, at least I, want enlightening upon this subject. I know very well, that the *law* sanctions this opulence in the Priesthood; but, I may, surely, *wish* that it did not: I may, surely, wish to see the teachers of the Christian religion, living in the humble way that the Apostles lived: I may, surely, *wish* this, without incurring the charge of *blasphemy*.

4. You include *morals* with *religion*; and, you are, in this respect, very right; for *faith*, without *works*, is a good for nothing tree. Now, certainly, the QUAKERS are the *most moral* sect that the world ever saw. Sober, industrious, frugal, friendly, kind, charitable, merciful, unostentatious, punctual, simple in

their dress, manners and language, and honest in all their dealings. These are the *fruits* of religion in them. And yet, they have *neither priest nor minister*; and, they never pay one single farthing to any one for *religious teaching*. Those who teach, amongst them, receive neither reward nor distinction. Pray, now, is not this a pretty strong proof, that *religion* receives very little benefit from a Priesthood being highly paid? And, is it *blasphemy* in me, or any one else, to *wish* that no Priesthood should be highly paid? Is it *blasphemy* for us to wish, that all the people in the world were as moral as the Quakers are?

5. You are aware, that all the Priests of the Church of England do, at their ordination, solemnly declare, that they *verily believe themselves to be called by the Holy Ghost to be ministers of Christ's word*; and, that they solemnly promise to be vigilant in watching over the souls committed to their care.—Now, tell me, do you happen to know of any Priests, who

have *two livings* each? Do you happen to know of any who have livings, and who *do not reside near those livings*? And, if you do, will you be so good as to tell us, how this system of pluralities and non-residence is likely to conduce to the propagation and the upholding of the religion, which these Priests teach?

6. You know very well, that the clergy of the Church of England receive a tenth part of the produce of the earth, together with the rents of immense quantities of property in house, land, manors, and other things. You know, that ARTHUR YOUNG, the Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, has estimated the tithes alone at *five millions a-year*, in England and Wales only. You know, that numerous Priests have *two livings* each. Will you tell me, how it has happened, that, under such circumstances, the parliament has granted, *out of the ordinary taxes, raised upon the people at large, a hundred thousand pounds a-year*, for several

years past, for the *relief* of the *Poor Clergy of the Church of England*? You must know the cause; I do not; and, especially at this moment of *distress*, and of *financial difficulty*, I humbly hope, that it is not *blasphemous* to ask you this civil question. One thing, however, I will say; and that is, that I am pretty sure, that a *reformed* House of Commons would not have granted these sums for this purpose; and, therefore, if such grants be proper, just and necessary, there ought to be no reform of the Parliament.

I could add several other questions; but, I will first have an answer to these; and, if you decline to give it, all your loose talk about *morality and religion* being attacked by the Reformers, will pass for nothing. It will be seen, that you dare not come to the point. That you have made a noise to *frighten the foolish*; but, that you dare not encounter truth, and make an appeal to men of virtue and of sense.

Having now done with you on the subject of *religion*, let

me go back, and take up the topics, which I omitted in my last letter.

You professed to give your audience an account of the *quieting measures* of the last short Session. But, though there were *six acts*, you spoke of *one* only. How you misrepresented that one, I shewed in my last letter. How you, in speaking of the great danger to be apprehended from *immense multitudes*, assembled in the squares of towns, forgot to say, that the same law had, in effect, put an end to all meetings, *even in a house*, held for *political discussion*, I then pointed out; but, I had not room to notice another objection, which you found out to large public meetings. It was this, that there was no *responsibility*, no *legal responsibility*, attached to them; and that you *disliked all irresponsible power*.

Now, in the first place, "*the king can do no wrong*." In the next place, *when was any Minister punished for doing wrong*? Were Pitt and his colleagues, when they ordered the Bank to refuse to obey the law? Was Pitt, when he lent the public-money to loan-jobbers? In

short, have not Ministers, upon all occasions, when they have violated the law, been *protected against the consequences*, by that unreformed parliament, of the excellence and all-sufficiency of which you boast? And yet, you have a great dislike to *irresponsible power*! And you say, it is *tyranny*, be it lodged where it may.

Besides, you might have stopped, 'till some meeting of *Reformers* had committed some act of violence; some little act of violence on person or on property! And, you were singularly unfortunate in citing the conduct of Lord George Gordon's mob, in 1780; for that was a *religious mob*; so was the mob that *pulled down and burnt at Birmingham*; and another mob that *did the same at Manchester was a Church and King mob*. These two latter you did not notice. The *Anti-Jacobin* mobs have pulled down, or gutted, or burnt, more, perhaps, than *five hundred houses in England*: the Reformers have never pulled down, or, in anywise injured, *one single house*! Whenever mobs have assembled on account of *dearth of pro-*

visions, on account of machinery, or on any account other than that of Reform, acts of violence have been committed; but, by an assembly of *Reformers*, never one such act.

No, Sir, it was not their *arms*, but their *principles*, that were the object of your dread. The danger was in their *speeches*, their communication of feeling and of thought; and this is fully proved by that provision of the act, which forbids the *taking of money* for the admission to any house or room, where any *debates or discussions* on political or public matters should be held; and, without which taking of money it was manifest, that no room could be had for such purpose. This provision makes the motive of the whole so plain, that no man of common sense can mistake it. Men met in a room could not *alarm* the "*peaceful people*." Men met in a room could not "*overawe* his Majesty's loyal and peaceable subjects." Men met in a room could not *sally forth* to set fire and make war. Ah! sly dogs! but, their *sentiments* might sally forth! What some of them

said might make an impression on others. Some of them might know more than the rest, and, thus, knowledge would be communicated and spread about. Those who learnt something in a room, might carry it out of the room, and teach it to others; and, thus, *by the extension of knowledge*, harm might arise, and "*social order*" be endangered! This, though very true, has nothing of novelty in it; for the Monks said the same thing, and acted upon the same principle, for many, many ages; and they do so to this hour, wherever their power is left in existence.

Why *you* slipped over the other *five acts*, I cannot imagine; for your audience must have been delighted to hear of all the ingenious contrivances, which had been put in practice to lessen the quantity of *reading* on the subjects connected with *Church and State*. How cleverly you had contrived to shut out the light of the *Two-penny* candles; how neatly you had *bound up* the printers and publishers, *before* as well as *after* imputed crime; what care you had taken of the safety of

Englishmen's "*castles*" by authorizing the seizing of arms in them by *force*, and to enter the famous "*castles*," on *suspicion*, by night as well as by day; nay, even to take the arms from the lord of the "*Castle's*" person, when he might be going along the high-way; and, which was the best of all, how completely you had proved the people's *love* and *veneration* for the House of Commons, by providing, that any man might be *banished for life*, for writing or publishing any thing, that might even TEND to bring that so much loved and revered House into *contempt*!

I wonder you omitted so fine an opportunity of giving instances of the talent, the utility, and the wisdom of the parliament, and of its great care to preserve the liberties of the people. However, to say the truth, you had but a dismal story to tell, if you had *told the whole*. You put on a bold front, while your knees knocked together. And, even at this moment, while the COURIER is boasting, in one column of what it calls the "*Triumph of the Laws*," it seldom fails to give

in the very next, some proof, that it is, at the best, a triumph over the *body* only, and not in the least, a triumph over the *mind*. You have succeeded in alarming the people of property; but that is all you have done. What wants doing, is, to *conciliate* the *discontented*; unless, indeed, you still regard *discontent* as a *crime*, as you appear hitherto to have done.

However, it is of the *necessity* of conciliation that I have to speak to you now; and though you may be disposed to treat the idea with scorn, there are others, I am inclined to think, who will not. I mean *conciliation of the Reformers*; for, Sir, calling us *Radicals, Revolutionists, Rebels, Assassins*, and the like, neither exterminates us nor makes us cease to think, to wish, and to hope. Abuse never yet enfeebled the party abused, while it never fails, in the end, to enfeeble, or to hurt, in some way or other, the abusing party. We see, and all men see, our country in a most wretched state. We give *reasons* for believing, that this calamity has come upon us for want of a Reform in the House of Commons. We have

before us the predictions of many statesmen, especially, the Great Lord Chatham, the late Duke of Richmond, Fox, and Pitt, that such calamities would be produced *by the want of a Reform*. We have the Duke of Richmond's plan of Reform, which he brought into the parliament in the shape of a bill. And, all that we do is, to *pray* that a Reform on that plan may take place; that is to say, that, as the *Nobility have one house to themselves*, we, the commons, or people, may have a house, chosen, not by the nobility, but by us; and that every man, who pays taxes and is liable to be called upon to bear arms, may have a vote in choosing those who are to make laws to govern the country, in defence of which he pays taxes and is liable to be called on to hazard his life. We ask this, too, with the more confidence, because we read in the expositor of the laws, that every subject of the king is amenable to the laws, only because the law supposes him to have been present in parliament, *in his own person or by his representative*, to give his assent to the laws, to which he is amenable.

Now, Sir, disfigure it how you will, this is the sum and substance of our case. You may call us by what *names* you please; this is our case; and to this, I, for my part, mean to stand. What ground is there, then, for calling us *levellers, republicans, destroyers, seditious, and blasphemers*? Do we *blaspheme*, because we ask, for a reform not only consonant with the whole spirit of the laws, but in form, what a great nobleman himself proposed? Do we *blaspheme*, because we ask for a reform, when you know as well as we, that both Pitt and Fox declared reform was absolutely necessary to save this nation from destruction? Do we *blaspheme*, because we ask for a reform, which would of necessity put an end to the crying sins of bribery and corruption at elections?

I know well, that, by cramping our poor part of the press, and by giving an unbounded loose to your own part. I know well, that, by setting in motion every pen and every tongue connected with the system; and by employing all the resources of the most profound

hypocrisy, united with great knowledge of mankind and great talent into the bargain. I know well, that, by the use of all these means, great dread of "*the Radicals*" has been excited in the minds of the *rich and the timid*. But, after all, *truth* will prevail. Do what you will, she will prevail at last. *Time* alone would give us a complete triumph. But, we have other aids. *Actions* speak, if men are compelled to hold their tongues.

Let us suppose, now, that we and you were standing before a judge, perfectly disinterested, and perfectly impartial. We, the Radicals, stand back, and you step forward, and tell your own story, without suffering us to speak. What do you say? Let us hear what would naturally be the dialogue between you and such a Judge, in such a case.

JUDGE. — What complaint have you to make, Mr. CANNING, against these men, whom I see there, behind you, looking so thin and pale, clothed in rags, and having pad-locks on their mouths and thumb-screws on their hands.

MR. CANNING.—Oh! Don't you know them? I thought all the world knew them! They are the *Radicals*.

JUDGE.—The Radicals, Sir? What does that name mean?

MR. CANNING.—Mean! [What a fool the man must be—*aside*] Mean! Why, it means every thing that is bad.

JUDGE.—Indeed! But, as I am to *judge* between you, I wish to know what they have done, or, what they have *endeavoured* to do, or, at least, what they *profess their wish to do*; because, by their *deeds* they must be judged, unless we would violate the fundamental principles of all righteous law.

MR. CANNING.—Done! Oh, they are cunning dogs: they have done nothing yet; and as to endeavours they have disguised them also; and for *professions*, they take care not to profess that which they wish to do.

JUDGE.—Well, then, Sir, what do you *think*; what do you think, that they wish to do, and that they would do, if they could?

MR. CANNING.—Think! I do not think any thing at all about the matter. I *know* that they wish, and intend, “to *destroy the throne*,” to “*abolish the House of Lords*,” to “*destroy all property*,” to “*obliterate morals and religion from the hearts of mankind*,” and.....

JUDGE.—Stop! Stop, Sir. Pray go no further; for, you have only to *prove* the first of your allegations, and, as the crime is high treason, you will soon be delivered of “*the Radicals*.”

MR. CANNING.—*Prove*, indeed! Why, I told you, just now, that they were such *sly dogs*, and disguised their views and intentions so well, that there was no getting at *positive* evidence of their traiterous and diabolical intentions.

JUDGE.—Likely enough, Mr. Canning. But, if they really have such intentions; and if you *know* it, you can, surely, produce some *circumstantial* evidence of an intention, entertained by so many men in such various situations in life.

MR. CANNING.—Oh, yes! Circumstances enough, faith! why, Sir, their evil intentions

are so manifest, that it has been found necessary to pass *six acts* for the purpose of defeating their intentions. In the first place, they have been forbidden to meet out of doors, except in distinct parishes, and these meetings, were they to take place, are put under the supervision and controul of the magistrates, who may *disperse the meetings at their pleasure*; and to prevent any resistance of the will of the magistrate, fine, imprisonment, transportation, or death, may, according to the degree of the offence, be inflicted on any persons attending the meetings. Then, this same law provides, that there shall be no meeting, *even in a room*, to debate or discuss matters of Church or State, if *money be paid for admittance*, unless the room be *licensed* by a magistrate; and then he may attend, and, if he please, *take away the licence*.

JUDGE.—Did I rightly understand you, Sir? That Englishmen may not now meet even in a room to hear speeches, or lectures, on government or political economy, for instance, and *pay for their admission*, without offending against

the laws? In other words, that it is now *a crime*, for an Englishman to take admission money to a lecture on LOCKE, MONTESQUIE, or BLACKSTONE?

MR. CANNING.—Yes, you have precisely my meaning and the fact. And this, I say, shows what a nest of rebellious and impious villains these Radicals are. This is, I think, *circumstantial proof enough* of their wicked designs. But, if you want more, look at the laws for *binding* printers and publishers, for abolishing *cheap* publications, for *banishing* the villains, when they put forth any thing even *tending* to bring the parliament into contempt. Look at these, and then doubt of their guilt if you can.

JUDGE.—Excuse me, Sir, if I am not yet convinced of the guilt of these men. If, indeed I am to take the laws, passed against the Radicals as proof of their guilt, I must decide that they are guilty. But, as I have now heard you with patience, you will have no objection, I suppose, to my ordering the padlocks to be taken from the lips of those ragged, lean men, who seem very impatient

to speak in their own defence, as they, surely, have a right to do.

MR. CANNING.—What! Take off the padlocks! Suffer them to tell their lies about gentlemen and ladies, who, to uphold a constitution, which is, “the envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world,” condescend to take certain sums, under the names of sinecures and pensions! Suffer them to rail against rotten boroughs and against all that is ancient and venerable! Suffer them to “cut morals and religion from under the feet of future generations!” Suffer them—

JUDGE.—Gently, Sir. You said something about *rotten boroughs*. Pray, what are those?

MR. CANNING.—Why (what an old fool it is—*aside*) they are the “*soundest part of the Constitution*.”

JUDGE.—What! Can *rotten boroughs* be the *soundest part of the Constitution*, which is “the envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world”?

MR. CANNING.—(*Aside*,—The

fellow is a Radical himself.) Yes, they may, and they are, and the rottener they are the better they are and the better I like them; and, as to unlocking the jaws of the traitors, who cry out against them, I will consent to no such a thing.

JUDGE.—Well, Sir, my decision, then, is this: I have heard all that you have to say against those poor men, who have misery painted on their very countenances. They have evinced a great desire to be heard in their defence. You cannot be afraid of their arms, for you are more than sufficiently protected, and they are still bound in the hands. I conclude, therefore, that you are *afraid* of the impression, which their defence would make upon me; and, as you are sure, that I, having no private interest to thwart the dictates of my mind, should decide according to *truth*, your fear must arise from a consciousness, that the Radicals, though so heavily charged and so outrageously abused, *have truth, reason, and justice on their side*.

Now, this is no more than a picture of what is passing in the mind of every impartial man in this country and in every country where our present disputes, discontents and troubles are heard of. Thousands upon thousands of men, who partake in the *alarm*, come to the same conclusion that this supposed judge comes to. They are alarmed at the *danger*; but, they do not join in applauding the language of *defiance* and *contempt* that *you* have chosen to adopt at Liverpool. If there be *danger*, such men cannot but know, that *the Radicals* have not been in *possession of political power*. Men of property see the danger to property; they see that all the ruin and misery arise from the Wars, the Debt, and the Taxes. And they must know, that, at any rate, *the Radicals* have been the cause of none of these. They see, besides, that the dangers are not removed, and that they are not likely to be removed, by any measures of *severity*. What they want is, not the triumph of rotten boroughs, but the triumph of *peace and content*. You may

glory in holding forth *defiance* to Radicals; but, men of property have no glory to acquire in that way. Radicals, or not, they are the men, amongst whom all men of property must *live*, and, therefore, they wish to live in *peace* with them. Men of property are alarmed; but the chief cause of their alarm, is, that they see no chance of an *end* to the struggle; and certainly, without a *yielding* on the part of those, who now refuse all concession, no man can have the smallest hope of such end.

With all the *experience* that you have before you, it appears wonderful, that you should persist in saying, and that, too, more positively than ever, that you will not yield any thing to the Reformers. It was this same sort of obstinacy, that lost America; it was this same sort of obstinacy that finally cost Louis the 16th his life; it was the same sort of obstinacy that cost one Stuart his life and another his throne; it was the same sort of obstinacy that caused the South American Insurrection. It is a *refusal to yield in time*; and, in the mean-

while, a system of stern persecution of those who ask for reform. There is no instance, in the history of the world, of a people being *reduced to lasting obedience by coercive means*. And your Liverpool Philosophy was *overset by events*, which, though you did not know it, were going on, or preparing, at the very moment that you were speaking!

One would think, that the events in *Scotland*, the accounts of which I shall insert at the end of this letter, were sufficient to make the most obstinate of Anti-Radicals begin to doubt of the "*wholesome effects*" of perseverance in refusing reform. You revelled in your triumph over the Radicals. You exulted in the "*restoration of order, peace, and reverence for the laws*." You gloried in the unquestionable *efficacy* of the measure of the *short session*, your share in the honour of which measures you failed not to claim. And, before you had got your speech out, in the shape of a pamphlet, up comes the news, that the state of things was *worse than ever* in that part of the kingdom, which has always

been justly famed for the *good sense* and the *morals* of its inhabitants! You will say, that the discontented are *Radicals*. Very true; but they are *Scotsmen* as well as Radicals. They have *pikes*, and they are in "*open rebellion*," says the *COURIER*. So much the worse; but they are *Scotsmen*. They make a part of the people of *Scotland*. To this point we always come back at last. And, if there be men, who can exult in any defeat of Radicals, of what stuff must such men be made?

The Scots Radicals issued, if we are told truth, an *Address*, or *Manifesto*, amounting to an open declaration of war for the purpose of obtaining a Reform. I insert this document with the comments of the *COURIER* and the *COUNTER-PROCLAMATION* of the Magistrates. Here is a scene! As to the statement of facts, the reasonings and the sentiments of the *Manifesto* it is unnecessary to say any thing about them. I shall give the thing to the public as the *COURIER* has given it, and even with his interpretation and commenting. But, there are

circumstances belonging to the thing, that are well worthy of the notice, and of the serious consideration too, of those who wish to see peace restored to this distracted kingdom.

This Manifesto is a piece of writing, which discovers *great ability*; and, the little grammatical error or two, that it contains, only serve to show, that it is the product of *natural talent*. You, Sir, who have been a Secretary of State for foreign affairs, can say whether *you* ever saw a better written paper of the kind. I *never did*; and, if I were a minister, or a Borough-monger, this circumstance would have no small weight with me. I should say, "if this be a *Radical* Manifesto; "if this be a specimen of *Radical literature*; I would rather have the Radicals for my friends than for my foes."

Another circumstance is, that there was somebody found to *print* this paper, this "open declaration of war," as the *COURIER* calls it. And, what is much worse, there was somebody found to *publish* it. Nay, there must have been *fifty* or a *hundred* publishers! For, it

was, it seems, *posted up all over Glasgow and Paisley and Twelve Miles round them in one night!*

And, as we are told, its injunctions, &c. on the people, not to work, were instantly obeyed.

The *result*, whatever it may be, can make no change in the weight of these circumstances. Here is a complete proof, that men can and will print and publish what they like to print and publish, in spite of all laws that can be passed. This is a mode of going to work that sets even a *Censorship* at defiance; and this, of course, is the way, that the French will go to work.

For a *remedy* of this evil, what does your faithful echo, the *COURIER* propose? Why, further laws *against the press*, to be sure! "The military force stationed in Glasgow," says he, "is formidable, and so far, a successful insurrection may not be anticipated. But the sword will not eradicate corrupt principles. *Blood may flow*; but it will not wash out *sedition from the heart*. We must, as we have always contended, cure the disease by operating in another quarter. We must effectually and

"*sternly silence the rank seditious press.*" That is to say, of course, the part of the press, that the Radicals have been accustomed to attend to. But, how came the COURIER not to perceive, that, in exact measure with the increase of the operations against the press, has been the increase of the spirit of Radicalism? However, if this fact escaped him, how could he overlook the fact which was then staring him in the face; that is, that even a *Censorship* could not "*sternly silence*" the press; but, that, on the contrary, it would, in all human probability, set it completely free in a short time; for that, in defiance of any law that could possibly exist, the Manifesto would have been published! The man, who wrote that Manifesto, the man who printed, and the man who published it, knew very well *what it was*. They were well aware of the nature of the punishment attached to the several acts, in case of detection. Yet the thing *was published*, and most extensively published. And, what the COURIER seems wholly to have overlooked, he himself

was, out of pure *kindness* to the Radicals, I suppose, actually *republishing* that very Manifesto, and sending into every part of the kingdom, a paper calculated to produce more immediate effect upon the minds intended to be worked on, than all the papers that ever issued from the Radical Press. And yet, even at the very moment that he is doing this, he calls aloud for *more laws* against the Seditious Press!

So did you, Sir, you were for "*extinguishing the torch of accursed discord for ever.*" And *how*? Why by binding up the printers and publishers and writers and by banishing them in case of misconduct. But, here you see, that writing and publishing can take place in *defiance of all laws*. There is a mode of eluding all your traps and trammels and contrivances. Never was there a publication like this sent forth before, in this country; and never did one have so wide a circulation. I do not see how it is possible to go further in the *law-way* without a Bourbon-Censorship; and the Scots Radicals have shown beforehand, that *they,*

for their part, do not care a straw for that. If there were a Censorship, it would be truly curious to see how the thing would work. The streets, in the morning, would be *whitened* with papers flung about them in the night. A guard at every man's door would not prevent this; and the beauty of the thing would be, that every man would then put his *real thoughts* upon paper. Nay, printed papers of this description would still be *sold*. Men would seal them up; sell them to friends; they would be handed about; and, as the matter would be what *men thought*, and not what they dared publish under the dread of punishment, things would very soon come to a crisis. My real opinion is, that the people would hear a thousand times *more truth* with a Censorship than without one. And, I think, that the establishing of a Censorship in France is the foolishlest thing that the Bourbons could have done. It will not prolong their sway one single hour.

A Censorship has this good in it. It removes all the *sham* of liberty of the press, which is

the best, the very best, ally of real tyranny. This is the enemy that freedom has most to dread. Thoughtless men see "*writers on both sides*," not perceiving, that those on one side have a sharp curb in their mouths, while those on the other side are wholly without a bridle! Not perceiving that the former go to bed and awake, frightened by dreams of dungeons and halters; while the latter snore away the night, and grow rich sleeping and waking. It is this *sham* liberty of the press; this one-sided goddess that I hate and detest. A Censorship is, at least, a matter of plain-dealing. It is an act of despotism; but it is an *open* and *undisguised* act. It says plainly, you shall read what the government chooses to let you read, and you shall read nothing more. And the motive for this is so plain, it is so clear, so evident to even fools, that it cannot be called foul-dealing. The *Morning Chronicle* stated, and, indeed, it was stated in parliament, that a Censorship was *under discussion* amongst *certain persons*, before the last Session. It was, probably, wished for by

some of the *Curfew* and *Pigtail* politicians. But, the *present thing* appears to have been, upon the whole, thought to be better; and, I verily believe, that, as far as the press is concerned, the nation would receive no injury at all from a Censorship. Every thing that men *thought* would then be published; and the communication between the great towns and even the hamlets is so quick, and all men talk so much in these times of suffering, that *thought* would pass from mind to mind swift as the wind. The *licensed* trash would be wholly unattended to, and the hand-bill publications would be read with an avidity not to be described.

What will the *COURIER* recommend, then; What *more* "stern" than the present system will he have? Will he make seditious libel *death*. That will do. That will silence all but the "*loyal*" press; that is to say, *by day*. Seditious libel is even now punished with *transportation* according to the *Scotch law*. But, still, the Radicals have put forth their Manifesto. And, what would the effect of

making seditious libel *death* be? Why, to be sure, it would have precisely the effect of the law against robbery. It would prevent men from writing and publishing *openly*, and they would do it *privately*. If I am told, that there is a *heavy penalty* on the man who prints any thing without putting his name to it. I say, the heavier penalty of death would make him laugh at this. He would only have to take care not to be *caught*; and the disposition to favour, to screen, and to aid him would be so general, that he would have very little to fear. In short, the thing is *overdone* already. Men are placed in too great peril to give free scope to their statements and reasonings. This naturally fills their hearts with bitterness. The people are either prevented from reading, or they read these stifled thoughts. They imbibe all the feelings of the writers, and participate in their resentment. And thus are the principles more firmly fixed in men's minds by the very means taken to eradicate them.

What, then, are you to do?

Conciliate. Put the press where it was in 1792, and make a reform of the House of Commons, such as the Duke of Richmond proposed. This is the way, and, in my opinion, the *only way*, to put an end to all the dangers and difficulties of the country, accompanied, however, with a *great change* in the management of the *money-affairs* of the nation; for, without this, nothing can be of any real use. It is better to listen, Sir, than to treat this with contempt and scorn. The Radicals are not to be *destroyed*. Always remember that. They cannot be *destroyed*. And, instead of the *COURIER's flippant exultation* at the "*defeat*" of them by the *yeomanry and light horse* at KILSYTH, and the pompous detail of *killed, wounded and prisoners*, he would, if he had had one grain of *real loyalty* in his composition, have mourned over that detail.

Since the *government* has thought proper to issue a *BULLETIN*, relating to this battle, I will insert it here. It may, probably, become a *memorable document*. The formality of the manner, the military pomp-

osity of the style, and the evident signs of gladness at the result are all worthy of remark, and it will become those who ought to look to such publications to think well, and *betimes*, of the consequences, which, in the end, may possibly arise.

" HOME DEPARTMENT,

Sunday, April 9th, 1820.

" Intelligence, of which the following is the substance, has this morning been received from Scotland :—

" About seven *a. m.* on Wednesday, April 5th, one of the Stirlingshire yeomanry in proceeding to join his troop at Falkirk, was stopped on the high road, within a few miles of Kilsyth, by a party of armed Radicals, who refused to let him pass. He turned back, and on his return, met an orderly of the Kilsyth troop of Yeomanry, who was on his march in the same direction with dispatches. The two Yeomen went to Kilsyth, and reported what had happened.

" Lieut. Hodgson, of the 10th Hussars, and Lieutenant Davidson, of the Stirlingshire Yeomanry, immediately marched with a small party of each of those corps in pursuit of the

" radicals, and overtook them
" near Bonny-bridge.

" The radicals, on observing
" this, cheered, and advanced to a
" wall, over which they commen-
" ced firing on the military. Seve-
" ral shots were fired by the sol-
" diers in return, and, after some
" time, the cavalry passed through
" an opening in the wall, and
" attacked the radicals, who re-
" sisted until they were over-
" powered by the troops. Four
" were wounded, and one of them
" was left on the field. Nine-
" teen were taken prisoners, and
" lodged in Stirling Castle. Five
" muskets, two pistols, eighteen
" pikes, and about 100 rounds of
" ball-cartridges were taken.

" In this encounter, Lieutenant
" Hodgson received a pike wound
" through the right hand; and a
" Serjeant of the Hussars was
" severely wounded by a shot in
" the side, and by a pike. Three
" horses were also wounded.—
" Lieut. Hodgson has reported to
" Major-Gen. Sir Thomas Brad-
" ford, that no troops could behave
" better than the whole party
" under his command; and a ge-
" neral order has been issued,
" *highly complimentary to the*
" *Yeomanry* engaged on this oc-
" casion.

" The following garrison order
" was issued by Sir T. Bradford,
" on the 6th inst.—

" O. O.

" *Glasgow, April 6.*

" Two Orderlies having been
" intercepted by an armed band
" of men between Kilsyth and
" Stirling, on the morning of the
" 5th of April, Lieut. Hodgson,
" 10th Hussars, and Lieut. Da-
" vidson of the Kilsyth Troop of
" Yeomanry, with an equal num-
" ber of men from each corps, by
" *a rapid and judicious movement*
" of nine miles from Kilsyth, came
" up with the offenders, and after
" receiving their fire, cut down or
" secured the whole of them, con-
" sisting of nineteen armed men.

" Sir Thos. Bradford requests
" Lieuts. Hodgson and Davidson,
" and the non-commissioned offi-
" cers and privates employed, *will*
" *accept his thanks* for the zealous
" promptitude with which they
" discharged their duty on this
" occasion.

" The General cannot but no-
" tice as a circumstance *highly*
" *creditable to the zeal of the*
" *Kilsyth Troop*, that the Hussars
" were mounted for the occasion,
" on horses lent them by the
" Yeomanry, in consequence of
" their own having made a forced

"march; and he will take care
 "that the owner of the horse
 "upon which Lieut. Hodgson rode,
 "which was killed, shall be in-
 "demnified for his loss."

Now, Sir, do you think, that publications of this kind, put forth by the government, and circulated all over the kingdom, are likely to produce and insure peace? A correspondent, tells the *COURIER*, that what he dislikes most, in the "*bad spirit*" of the times, is, that, though "the aim of the Radicals is broken, the *inextinguishable hate*, the *unconquerable will*, remain." To be sure. The *killing of men* only adds fuel to the flame. What, do you expect them to keep silence, to be "*sternly silenced*," and to be *good-humoured* too? This writer, like you, still talks about the *deluded* and the *deluders*. And, who, do you think, could *delude* men, capable of drawing up such a paper as the Radical Manifesto? They are not *deluded*. They proceed upon their own thoughts and opinions. They are led on and urged on by nobody. Their movements are their own. And, as to the killing or ruining of

other men, under the pretence of their being *demagogues*, it is the basest as well as the foolishhest of proceedings.

While these things are going on in Scotland, we are told of brooding insurrections in *Yorkshire* and *Lancashire*, and a very pompous account is given of the *fortifications* round the Barracks at Manchester! If this were stated as mere matter of *intelligence*, it would be less worthy of notice; but, it always comes forth as matter of *boast*, as matter of *triumph* over the Radicals, who are thus *taunted* and *goaded*, and not suffered to remain quiet even if they would. No sooner were the *six acts* passed, than the Reformers were twitted with *cowardice*, because they, as was said, "*hung down their heads*." They were asked why they did not *meet to petition* "*against the acts*," and this, too, after the conduct of the Manchester Magistrates had been approved of and after all that had passed at *Oldham*! When we think of these things, are we to wonder at "*the inextinguishable hate*, the *unconquerable will*?"

One of the ways in which

governments are overthrown, is, by the tongues and pens of its *flatterers*, while at the very same time, the flatterers, in private, censure the acts which they praise in public. Every body, who was living in America, during the first war in that country knows, that it was the false reports of the *royalists*, which caused this country to lose that. But they *gained* by their false reports, and that was enough for them. Just the same game is now playing here. The government is continually told, from all quarters, that the Reformers are *nothing at all*; that they are "*poor deluded wretches*;" that they are of no consequence. But, every month or two, out bursts an alarm as to their formidable means and designs. A hubbub takes place, some men get into jail, they are abused in the foulest manner before trial. And, for a while, there is *quiet*, in appearance, though discontent and revenge are busily at work in the mind. This is just the way in which *civil wars* are engendered.

No man will say openly, that he wishes for a civil war. No man is monster enough for that; and yet, do those not labour to produce a civil war, who are doing all that they are able to do to prevent *conciliation*, to prevent even a *small concession* on the part of the government? It is very clear, I think, that the ill-will never can have an

end, that peace and harmony never can be restored, until there be a *yielding*, in some degree, at least, to the Reformers. Why not *yield now*, therefore? Ministers may be changed; many other changes may happen; there may be another revolution in France; that of Spain may lead to consequences that we cannot foresee; the money-system may receive a shock: but *the Reformers will never change*. All the young men are growing up in their principles; the aged are dropping off; and the cause, day by day, becomes dearer to the people. If you could have doubted of the quick communication of principles, that passage in the Radical Manifesto, which speaks of the Spaniards, must, I think, have removed the doubt. There is not a labourer nor artisan in this whole kingdom, who has not felt exultation at the revolution in Spain. And, if kings and priests form themselves into *Holy Alliances*, shall nations not have a fellow-feeling for each other? There is not a man in England of the "*Lower Orders*," who does not well know, that the people in Spain are now to be fully *represented* in the legislature; that the Spanish parliament is to sit but *two years*; and that the king is to have no power of doing harm to the country. You are deceived, Sir, if you think, that the Labouring

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Classes know nothing about such matters. They know *all* about them. Such subjects occupy their minds; and such subjects ought to occupy their minds, seeing that they are subjects closely connected with their happiness.

And, is this a time to say, that you will not *concede an inch*; that you will do *nothing* to conciliate the Reformers; and that if you do disfranchise GRAMPOND, it shall be to *preserve* OLD SARUM? You see one nation in full possession of a government wholly representative, giving the whole world a most enchanting example of freedom and happiness; you see France, after all the affected triumph of loyalty, maintaining the right of representation at the manifest risk of another revolution; you see Spain revolutionizing itself on the very same principle; you see all Germany on the eve of general commotion on the same ground; and, yet, you dare tell the people of England, that you will, at all hazards, *preserve* OLD SARUM!

I trust, that very few, even of your *colleagues*, are animated with this your spirit of obstinate hostility. If they be, miserable and disgraceful are the days that this once great and happy kingdom has to see; for, if your counsels prevail, she may bid adieu to domestic prosperity and harmony and to foreign power, whether by land

or by sea. The mere waste attendant on a war against the Reformers will take from the country a considerable part of its means. *Uncertainty* as to what is to happen must continually prevail; and prudent men do not leave their property exposed to chances. Fear, on this score, will occasion a constant drain from the capital of the country. The Debt must be *dealt with* in some new way. Every difficulty of the government, is, in such a state of things, an advantage to the Reformers; and thus we shall behold the unnatural spectacle of a people seeing, with delight, the embarrassment of that, which it ought to be their most anxious wish to cherish and support. There are various opinions as to the causes of the difficulties, in which the government now finds itself; but, all agree, that the difficulties exist; and all agree, that it will require uncommon wisdom and firmness in the government, united with cordial good will in the people, to afford the nation a chance of restoration to prosperity: and it is in this state of our affairs, that we hear you declare, that you will *preserve* OLD SARUM, and we see the Ministerial Journals exulting in the prospect of seeing Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hunt lodged in a jail, and in the killing and wounding and capturing, in battle, of a handful of Reformers in Scotland!

However, let come what may, the *Reformers* cannot be *injured* by the change; and, they have always to say for themselves, that *they* have had no share whatever in the measures, which have brought the country into its present state. The *Pittites* and the *Foxites*; the *ins* and the *outs*; the "*gentlemen on this side*" and the "*gentlemen opposite*;" the *Tories* and the *Whigs*; however they may have hated each other, have always cordially joined in *upholding the System*, and in *abusing the Reformers*. The system is the joint concern of the two factions; and, that Reformer must have very little sense, who sees any thing to alarm *him*, in the perils which now surround that system. It seems, indeed, very evident, that terrible times are at hand; but, as you piously observed in one of your former Speeches at Liverpool, "the ways of Providence are *inscrutable*," and, perhaps, the day, which we are now looking forward to as a time of unparalleled suffering, may be the happy day of our *complete deliverance*.

I now, Sir, take my leave, not at all envying you the feelings, which you must have upon reflecting on the manner in which the assertions of your speech have been verified by the movements in Scotland, and leaving you to enjoy all the honour that will attend your perseverance in the gallant resolution to *preserve OLD SARUM*, let

what will happen to OLD ENGLAND.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,
And most humble Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

THE NEXT REGISTER

Will contain a Letter to Lord Liverpool, on Mr. HEATHFIELD's plan for paying off the *National Debt*, which plan, or something like it, is, I think, likely to be adopted.

AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND

(From the Courier.)

The Magistrates of Glasgow issued a Proclamation on Sunday, in which they describe the Address above referred to, as being obviously "a direct declaration of immediately intended hostility to the Government and Constitution of this Country." They speak, also, of its "treasonable objects," and warn the people, "that all measures, in prosecution of such objects, will be regarded as an insurrection against the Government, and be instantly put down by the most *prompt* MILITARY EXECUTION." They further speak of information which they had received, of "the intention of those who issued the aforesaid Address to bring in bodies of men from the country in furtherance of their traitorous purposes." The language of this Proclamation is, indeed, of a most alarming character. We can only fervently hope, that the firm attitude assumed by the civil and military authorities will have the effect of intimidating the deluded men, from any attempt to accomplish their criminal designs. It is said, in an article from Edinburgh, that

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the signal for a rising was to be the non-arrival of the London Mail; but, by what means it was to be impeded, except by some expected co-operation on the part of the disaffected in the manufacturing districts of England is not mentioned.

Large reinforcements of military were marching upon Glasgow from Edinburgh and Stirling.

The latest intelligence received by Government, from Glasgow and Paisley, is down to three o'clock on Monday, at which time the streets were much crowded with the unemployed workmen of all descriptions, but no actual disturbance had taken place. The greatest fears, however, prevailed, that the night would not pass over tranquilly.

The following is a copy of the atrocious Address referred to above:—

ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRE-
LAND.

Friends and Countrymen,

Roused from that torpid state in which WE have been sunk for so many years, We are at length compelled, from the extremity of our sufferings, and the contempt heaped upon our Petitions for redress, to assert our RIGHTS, at the hazard of our lives; and proclaim to the world the real motives, which (if not misrepresented by designing men, would have united all ranks), have reduced us to take up ARMS for the redress of our *Common Grievances*.

The numerous Public Meetings held throughout the Country has demonstrated to you, that the interests of all Classes are the same.

That the protection of the Life and Property of the *Rich Man*, is the interest of the *Poor Man*, and in return, it is the interest of the Rich, to protect the poor from the iron grasp of DESPOTISM; for, when its victims are exhausted in the lower circles, there is no assurance but that its ravages will be continued in the upper: For once set in motion, it will continue to move till a succession of Victims fall.

Our principles are few, and founded on the basis of our CONSTITUTION, which were purchased with the DEAREST BLOOD of our ANCESTORS, and which we swear to transmit to posterity unsullied, or PERISH in the Attempt. Equality of Rights (not of Property), is the object for which we contend; and which we consider as the only security for our LIBERTIES and LIVES.

Let us show to the world that we are not that Lawless, Sanguinary Rabble, which our Oppressors would persuade the higher circles we are—but a BRAVE and GENEROUS PEOPLE, determined to be FREE. LIBERTY or DEATH is our *Motto*, and We have sworn to return home in *triumph*--or return *no more!*

SOLDIERS,—Shall YOU, Countrymen, bound by the sacred obligation of an Oath, to defend your Country and your King from enemies, whether foreign or domestic, plunge your BAYONETS into the bosoms of Fathers and Brothers, and at once sacrifice at the *Shrine of Military Despotism*, to the unrelenting Orders of a Cruel Faction, those feelings which you hold in common with the rest of mankind? Soldiers, turn your

eyes toward SPAIN, and there behold the happy effects resulting from the UNION of Soldiers and Citizens. Look to that quarter, and there behold the yoke of hated Despotism, broke by the unanimous wish of the People and the Soldiery, happily accomplished without bloodshed. And, shall YOU, who taught those Soldiers to fight the battles of LIBERTY, refuse to fight those of your own Country? Forbid it Heaven! Come, forward then at once, and Free your Country and your King, from the power of those that have held them *too, too* long in thralldom.

Friends and Countrymen,

The eventful period has now arrived, where the services of all will be required, for the forwarding of an object so universally wished, and so absolutely necessary, Come forward then, and assist those who have begun in the completion of so arduous a task, and support the laudable efforts, which we are about to make, to replace to Britons, those rights consecrated to them, by Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, and sweep from our shores that corruption which has degraded us below the dignity of Man.

Owing to the misrepresentations which have gone abroad with regard to our intentions, we think it indispensably necessary to DECLARE inviolable, all public and private property. And, We hereby call upon all Justices of the Peace, and all others to suppress Pillage and Plunder, of every description; and to endeavour to secure those guilty of such offences, that they may receive that punish-

ment, which such violations of Justice demand.

In the present state of affairs, and during the continuation of so momentous a struggle, we earnestly request of all to desist from their labour from and after this day, the First of April; and attend wholly to the recovery of their Rights, and consider it as the duty of every man not to recommence until he is in possession of those Rights which distinguish the Freeman from the Slave; viz. That of giving consent to the laws by which he is to be governed. We, therefore, recommend to the proprietors of Public Works, and all others, to stop the one, and shut up the other, until order is restored, as we will be accountable for no damages which may be sustained; and which after this public intimation, they can have no claim to.

And We hereby give notice to all those who shall be found carrying arms against those who intend to regenerate their Country, and restore its Inhabitants to their Native Dignity; We shall consider them as Traitors to their Country, and Enemies to their King, and treat them as such.

By order of the Committee of
Organization, for forming a
PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Glasgow, 1st April, 1820.

Britons.—God.—Justice.—
The wishes of all good men are with us.—Join together and make it one Cause, and the Nations of the Earth shall hail the day when the Standard of Liberty shall be raised on its *Native Soil*.

Glasgow, April 3.

A STRIKE OF WORK IN GLASGOW.

We are extremely sorry to state that at no time since the beginning of Radicalism, has there been such a general apprehension of danger as within the last ten days in Glasgow and its neighbourhood. It was supposed that the new-fangled notions which dazzled some of our people had given way to the thinking sober-mindedness of the Scotch character; but if appearances are to be trusted, this conclusion has been too hastily drawn. There has lately prevailed a system of intimidation not formerly attempted; and many well-disposed peaceable people in manufactories and work-shops have been obliged to enter the lists of the disaffected, from the terror of their lives. Indeed it is more among the operatives who have resisted the importunities and threats to join in those unlawful associations that the fear of danger exists, than among those in more elevated situations.

Between Saturday night and Sunday morning there was posted upon the walls in Glasgow, Paisley, and in all the manufacturing towns and villages for a dozen miles round, an Address to the People of England, Ireland, and Scotland, calling upon them to come forward instantly, and to effect, by force, if resisted, a revolution in the Government. This paper is supposed to have been printed in England; and we should suppose it of English composition, from its dwelling much upon Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, in which Scotland has no

interest. It is probable then that this same Address has been circulated through the manufacturing districts of England; and the accounts of its effects there are looked for with much anxiety by both loyal and disloyal in this part of the country.

One of the injunctions contained in this Address was to abstain from all work after the 1st day of April, and we are extremely sorry to say that this order has been but too implicitly obeyed. All the weavers in Glasgow and its suburbs have struck work, and our streets are crowded with them walking about idle. The weavers in Paisley and its neighbourhood, have also, we understand, ceased to work, and it is not improbable that we may be favoured with a visit from some of them. The colliers in the country round, have likewise struck this morning, and we have unfortunately to increase our list with the cotton-spinners, and some of the machine-makers and founders. Most of the mills began work this morning, but threatening visits were immediately paid to them, and the workers did not return at breakfast time, or have since left their work. The demeanor of the people on the streets is at present perfectly peaceable, and though they are occasionally gathered into gloomy knots, still everything bears more the marks of an attempt to intimidate by numbers, than to strike a blow. Indeed such a scheme could scarcely enter into the most visionary head, as our military force in this garrison is of the most formidable description, consisting of artillery, cavalry, a battalion of the

Rifle Brigade and volunteers. The whole were under arms this morning before day-break; the regular garrison in their respective barracks; the recruiting parties in St. Vincent Street, where was also stationed the troop of Glasgow Light Horse; the Sharp Shooters, nearly 700 strong, in George's Square; and a party of the Armed Association in St. Enoch's Square. The Yeomanry of this and some adjoining counties are also on their march; and altogether we should think little is to be apprehended from open resistance, should unfortunately the ill-advised people attempt any such measure.

When this system of intimidation had been carried to such a length, and conducted so openly, there surely could be no difficulty in discovering and apprehending some of the intimidators, and thus let an attempt be made to give the true protection of the law to those who are entitled to it.

The Magistrates have issued the following proclamation:—

"Proclamation—by the Lord Provost and Magistrates of the city of Glasgow, the Sheriff of Lanarkshire, and the Justices of the Peace for the lower ward of the said county.

"Whereas, we have observed with much surprise and concern, a highly seditious and treasonable printed paper, posted up this morning, not only throughout the city, but in numerous places in the suburbs, denominated 'An Address to the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland,' which is obviously a direct declaration of

immediately intended hostility to the Government and Constitution of this country: We hereby once more give notice, that all attempts which shall be made to follow up the inflammatory spirit and treasonable objects of that Address, will be instantly resisted by the civil powers, aided by the strong military force placed at their disposal; and that all measures by assemblages of people in prosecution of such designs will be regarded as an insurrection against the Government, and be instantly put down by the most prompt military execution.

"And whereas, we have been informed that it is the intention of those who have issued the aforesaid Address, to bring in bodies of men from the country in furtherance of their traitorous purposes; we hereby warn all such persons to abstain from being so led away, to their own hazard, and the imminent danger of their lives. And we again warn the loyal and well-disposed inhabitants of this city and suburbs, in the event that any rising, as is threatened, shall take place, to keep themselves and their families within doors, and on no account to mingle with those who shall be actually violating the laws of the country.

"Glasgow, April 20, 1820."

STATE OF FRANCE.

The Bourbon Government has established a *Censorship* on the press. That is to say, certain men, called *Censors* have been appointed; and nothing can now be published, *until* one of them has *read it*, and *given leave* for it to be published. Thus, then, no

one can publish any thing, which the government disapproves of. This is only the old *Bourbon law*; only this law will not do now, because men's *minds are changed*. The Bourbons are still the Bourbons, but the French are not still willing slaves. They will write and read in spite of all the laws that can be passed; and freedom, under a real representative government, will finally prevail. — The people of England, however, when they *now* read, in the English newspapers, any *French news*, or news from *French papers*, should always bear in mind, that they are reading only what the Bourbons and their Ministers *choose to have published*! — Let the people of England bear this in mind, and then all will be right as far as the French Press goes. — In the mean while, the *representatives of the people* in France are pretty good. This law and another law, something like our *imprisonment law of 1817*, have been passed after long debates and warm debates, and by *very small majorities*. But, then, the representatives in France are *really chosen by the people*: by people of some property, to be sure, but still they are chosen by the people, and *by ballot* too! Thus, even in such a state of things, here is *some security*. But, where the people do not choose their representatives, there can be no security at all.

STATE OF SPAIN.

Here is something for all mankind to exult in! Here is a *bloodless revolution*, and a fair prospect of happy days to a nation, once famed for their superior

enterprize and bravery, but, of late, sunk in sloth and timidity under the barbarous scourge of tyranny and priestly craft and insolence. The French *licensed papers* tell us, that all is full of *dismay* in Spain! Dismay to tyranny, no doubt. This base *licensed press*; this Bourbon-press, told us, the other day, that the "revolution" had begun to *display* itself in "the *confiscation of the property of the INQUISITION*." An excellent way, too, of *displaying* itself! I hope that it will *display* itself further in selling to individuals the Convents to make barns and stables and cattle-stalls of; and I am sure, that the walls ought, if they could speak, to glory in the change of inhabitants contained within them. — Oh, no! the *licensed press* of France and the *bait-bound press* of England may say what they will, the revolution in Spain is accomplished; the Constitution is accepted and sworn to by king and people; and, if the former break his oath, so much the worse for him, but, as for the people, they will hold to it what whatever he may do. The *licensed press* of France, says, that *fears* were entertained, at Madrid, "for the *lives of the most august personages*." Indeed! who are they, I wonder? The friends of the Inquisition, I suppose. A *people*, when they triumph, are always *merciful*. Nor do I wish to see the *Inquisitors* thrown into flames like those in which they burnt others; but, I do wish to see them made to *earn their bread*; I do wish to see them compelled to *work*: there is always some dirty work to do,

and these men might work very well on the roads, or sweep the streets.—The same *licensed press* says, that none of the foreign Ambassadors at Madrid (except the *American Ambassador*) had been to *congratulate* the king on his acceptance of the Constitution; that they waited *for instructions from their several courts!* Well; and what of that? What do the Spaniards care for that? They have too much to do with their important affairs to think about such an idle ceremony? and they have too much sense to suppose, that the Members of the Holy Alliance do not wish their *Constitution* at the Devil.—This is a most glorious event. It presents another large spot for men, who dislike to be slaves to set their feet on. It is another great triumph of the *representative principle*. It is worthy of the admiration of all men, and especially of Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Irishmen.

Cobbett's Parliamentary Register.

The *First Number* of this Work will be published on the *SECOND SATURDAY* after the Meeting of Parliament. It is intended to publish one Number on every succeeding Saturday, during the Session; and to have the Volume complete in two weeks after the close of the Session. The measures of the next Session must necessarily be of extraordinary interest, involving as they probably may, the very fate of the country. To make a work of this kind as useful as the case admits of, the compiler must himself have a tolerable share of knowledge of the several matters discussed; and especially when present measures grow out of past measures, and have reference to facts,

well known amongst those engaged in the discussion, but not familiar to the understandings, or recollection, of the public in general. This observation applies with particular propriety to discussions relating to questions of Finance, Paper-Money, and, indeed, all questions of great national importance. It is intended, therefore, to give explanations, in the way of *NOTES*, wherever it may be found necessary, in the course of this work; and thus to put it in the power of every reader fully to enter into the merits of every question, as to which men in general must naturally desire to be well-informed, and on which they must wish to form a correct judgment. The price of each Number, containing *two sheets and a quarter*, will be *SIX PENCE*, and as it will always be published at the same time and place as the *POLITICAL REGISTER*, it may be conveniently obtained both in town and country. The Numbers, during the Session (probably twenty) will make a Volume of convenient size, the referring to the several matters in which will be rendered easy by a perspicuous arrangement and by every aid that can be afforded by Tables, Lists and Indexes.

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